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Role of Booty in the Economy during the Prophet's Time

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ABSTRACT. The author estimates the total value of the spoils of war accruing to the Muslims during the first decade of the Hijrah calendar (622-632 AD) not to exceed 6 million dirhams. Estimating the cost of living at Medina for an average family of six persons to be 3000 dirhams per annum, the above would support only a microscopic minority of the growing Muslims population at the time. It is also necessary to take into consideration the expenses incurred by Muslims on their war efforts, as well as the losses sustained by them. The author estimates the expenses alone to have exceeded 60 million dirhams - i.e. ten times the booty. All in all, the contribution of the spoils of war to the total income of the Muslims during the 10 years of the Prophet's rule could not be more than 2%, the author concludes. Without denying some role for this windfall, the mainstay of the Muslim economy must have been their own efforts in agriculture, industry, trade and commerce.

Orientalists' Viewpoint

Emphasis has often been laid by Western scholars on the importance of the booty obtained in the Muslim expeditions during the Medinan decade of the Prophet Muhammad's eventful life (peace be upon him). This is, in fact, a logical conclusion one arrives at if one assumes beforehand that the early Islamic campaigns had economic motivations and financial objectives as their driving spirit. This stems from the sup position that the impoverishment of the early Makkan immigrants (*muhajirun*), weak economic condition of the helpers (*ansar*), further deterioration of conditions at Medina by continuous new arrivals of the immigrants, exhaustion of whatever resources the Prophet had at his disposal in the early months after the hijrah, and, finally, his keen desire to ameliorate the financial conditions of his followers, led to the initiation of a policy of raiding Makkan caravans which passed by Medina on their way to Syria. (Addison, pp.70ff; Irving, pp.94-95; Muir, p.238; Rodinson, pp.151, 162ff; Hitti, pp.116-22; Watt, pp.1-10ff)[(1)]. Although all the early expeditions which numbered seven (Watt, p.2)[(2)]

proved largely unsuccessful, the policy of raiding Makkan caravans continued unabated during the first eighteen months of the Medinan period (Watt, pp.2-3). It was the eighth which, when the Muslim party am bushed at Nakhlah what is called by Carl Brockelmann, "a very richly-laden Meccan* caravan coming from Taif," provided them with a "heavy booty," (Brockel mann, p.23). "The booty from Nakhlah", Montgomery Watt says "gave a fillip to the policy of raiding Meccan caravans." (Watt, p.10). This policy of `plunder' is thought to have triggered off a number of encounters and battles with the mercantile aristocracy of Makkah in particular who were deliberately provoked by the Prophet. "In all this," writes Montgomery Watt, "we may see a deliberate intention on Muhammad's part to provoke the Meccans... Though Quraysh suffered no losses they were probably seriously perturbed at the threat to their trade. Despite the fullest precautions on their part the chances were that one day the Muslims would find the opportunity they looked for, and that would mean serious loss to Quraysh. For the moment Quraysh did nothing, but their eagerness to fight the Muslims at Badr is a measure of their annoyance," (Watt, p.4). It was, however, the Prophet who "had thrown the gauntlet which the Meccans could not honourably refuse to pick up," (Watt, p.14), if they wished to save their trade with Syria which was the backbone of their economy and affluence (Brockelmann, pp.23-25; Muir, p.211). Despite losses, sometimes heavy, in lives and property, the Muslims benefitted much more from the spoils they obtained during these encounters and raids, in addition to political power and social prestige which their military successes entailed (Watt, pp.1-10).

Although the Muslims were mainly occupied with their chief enemy i.e. the Quraysh of Makkah, they continued the policy of raiding the settlements of other Arabian tribes as well, helping themselves in most cases with the acquisition of rich spoils (Brockelmann, p.26; Muir, pp.243ff, pp.29-35). With the same objective, they turned their attention to the rich Jewish tribes of Medina and, on trifle issues, extinguished them and augmented their own economic resources by appropriating the riches and landed estates of the Jews (Brockelmann, pp.24-26; Muir, p.322; Grunebaum, pp.36-40). The need for augmentation of their resources also led them to attack and plunder the Jewish, Christian and Arabian settlements of the north and the east. It is thus argued that the urge for financial gain either motivated the early Islamic expeditions and military campaigns or at least determined their timings (cf. Watt, p.220).(3) There also seems to be a consensus among orientalists that the expeditions of the Prophet had greatly enriched the Medinan Muslims and, con sequently put the shattered Muslim economy on sound and solid foundations.

Muslim Viewpoint

On the other hand, the traditional Muslim viewpoint is a curious mixture of notions and opinions. There is the more conventional school of historians and biographers who deny the economic importance of the expeditions outright. (Mansurpun, vol.II, pp, 319-40; Nadvi, pp, 361-4; Husain, pp, 26-46; Amir Ali, pp.12-14). Another set of scholars suppose that the military campaigns of the Prophet resulted in enriching the Muslims on a moderate scale (Shibli, vol.I, pp.574-84; Hamidullah, pp, 150-66; Amir Ali, 1965, pp, 61ff; Azad, pp, 270ff; Haykal, pp.206ff), while several

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(*) "Makkah" is the Correct version officially in use even though the "Mecca" spelling is retained in quotations. (The editor).

modern writers conform to the line of argument similar to the one we have traced from the writings of some leading orientalists (Shaban, pp.12-3; Zahir, pp, 164-81).

However, there seems to be a consensus among all the historians and biographers of the Prophet, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, that the military expeditions entailed enrichment of the Muslims on a larger or smaller scale. But so far no comprehensive study has been made of the quantum of the spoils captured in the *ghazawat* and *saraya*[*] of the first decade of the Muslim calendar and their proportional contribution, role and place in the economy of the Islamic community of the period. In the present paper an attempt is made to study the subject comprehensively, present statistics whenever possible, and find suitable answers to the questions that have been raised in this connection.

Early Expeditions

According to the reckoning of Waqidi, the greatest *maghazi* writer of the classical period, the expeditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), *ghazawat* or *saraya*, big or small, significant or insignificant, numbered 74 (Waqidi, p.7). However, later writers and biographers in their quest for comprehensiveness have raised their number to 90[(4)] or even more (Watt, pp.33943),[(5)] It must be borne in mind that all the expeditions, whether *ghazawat* or *saraya*, were not military campaigns; several of them were simply political missions, or religious excursions, Many modern writers have considerd them military operations, grossly misunderstanding their true character as Montgomery Watt points out (Watt, p.2). Hence the conclusion that the Muslims of Medina were bent upon making raids in order to augment their economic resources (Margoliouth, pp.235-8; Pike, p.40).

However, it was the eighth expedition i.e. the *sariah* of Abdullah b. Jahsh to Nakhlah in Rajab 2 A.H-Jan. 624 A.D., some sixteen months after the hijrah, which succeeded in capturing the first booty for the Muslims, According to the account in our authorities, the booty was accidentally gained and it consisted of some wine (*khamr*) and an unspecified quantity of dry raisins (*zabib*), leather or leathermats (*'adam*) and possibly some other merchandise of the Quraysh apart from two captives of whom one paid the ransom money of 40 `uqiyahs of silver (equivalent to 1,600 dirhams at the prevalent weight of 1 *`uqiyah* = 40 dirhams), the other being set free without a ransom as he converted to Islam (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.240; Waqidi, pp.15-16; Ibn Sa'd, vol, II, p.11; Ya'qubi, vol.II, p.70; Tabari, vol, II, p.41; Ibn Khaldun, vol, II, p.747; Ibn al Athir, vol, II, p.114; Ibn Kathir, vol, III, p.349). Al though it is difficult to determine the exact value of the booty captured at Nakhlah, it was certainly not as large as to give "a fillip to the policy of raiding Makkan or other Arabian caravans," as claimed by Watt (Watt, p.10). Several evidences in our sources as well as other clues[(6)] suggest that the booty was neither rich nor heavy; it was quite meagre or at most moderate, Twenty thousand dirhams would be a quite fair estimate, It is one of the rare examples in which the value of the booty is not indicated, otherwise early Muslim writers, especially *maghazi*-writers, generally give all possible details in their accounts in connection with spoils. It

(*) *Ghazawat* (plural of *ghazwah*) were expeditions led by the Prophet himself whereas *saraya* (plural of *sariyah*) were expeditions sent by him though he did not personally participate in them.

is interesting to know that only 9-13 Muslims were moderately enriched, (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.238-9; Waqidi, p.17; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.10; Yaqubi, vol.II, p.69; Tabari, vol.II, p.410; Ibn Khaldun, vol.II, p.746; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.113; Ibn Kathir, vol, III, p.249) as the four-fifth part of the spoils was distributed among the participants while one-fifth (*khumus*) was reserved for the Prophet and the poor Muslims, One may ask how many impoverished Muslims would have been sustained with an amount of four or five thousand dirhams? Another point to be taken into consideration is the fact that no booty accrued to the Muslims in the first sixteen months.

Battle of Badr

The battle of Badr was the first *ghazwah*, as the expedition to Nakhlah was the first *sariyah*, to fetch considerable spoils in the wake of a signal victory. They consisted of weapons, cattle, horses, baggage and goods and, interestingly enough, of some merchandise which the mercantile aristocrats had brought with them for trading purposes to the periodical market of Badr. The weapons included an unspecified, but surely small, number of swords (*suyuf*), coats of mail, leather or cloth helmets, iron-helmets, lances, small spears or javelins. The weapons were mainly *aslab* (personal weapons of the killed enemy). As such, they clearly indicate to their number, for, according to most authentic reports, seventy soldiers of the opposite army were killed and an equal number were taken in captivity (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.304-8, 355-67; Waqidi. pp.115-16, 138-52; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.18; Baladhuri, vol.I; pp.296-306). It is likely that some panicky Makkan soldiers might have thrown away some of their weapons while retreating (ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.127).(7) On the other hand, fourteen Muslims lost their lives (Waqidi, pp.145-7; Tabari, vol.II, p.477), and possibly their *aslab* were taken away by the opponents. Making allowance for these probabilities, the number of weapons captured in booty would have been around 150 apiece - 1000 in all. So far as animals are concerned, we are definitely told that camels numbered 150 and horses 10 only. The goods (*'mata'*) consisted mainly of clothes and leathermats. Though their quantity is not known, it could not have been very large. However, the merchandise, which was in the form of dry leather was in large quantities (Waqidi, pp.82,96, 102-3ff; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.118)(8).

Before the distribution of the spoils the Prophet is reported to have received as his *saft* (first pick) the famous sword called *Dhua1-Fiqar*, which was taken by a Muslim warrior as *salab* from its owner Munabbih b. al-Hajjaj al-Sahmi, a Makkan leader of some repute killed on the occasion (Waqidt, pp, 100-103; Ibn Sad, vol.II, pp, 18-9; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.294; Tabari, vol.II, pp.478-9; Ibn al-Athtr, vol.II, p.I37)(9). Despite the early discontent of the participants of Badr mentioned in our sources (lbn Hisham, vol.II, pp.283-4; Waqidi, pp.98-9; Tabari, vol.II, pp.457), and comments by some modern writers about the division of spoils (Muir, p.229; Glubb, p.187; Watt, pp.12ff), the booty was equally divided among the warriors including the Prophet who received as his share a camel which once belonged to Abu Jahl, the Makkan commander who fell on the battlefield (Waqidi, p.130; Ibn Sad, vol.II, p.19)(10). *Salab* and the ransom-money were received by the Muslim victor and captor respectively to the exclusion of other warriors (Waqidi, pp.99-100). One-fifth of the booty was reserved for the Prophet and poor Muslims before the actual division (Waqidi, pp.131-7). Eventually, the four fifths were equally divided among all participants in the battle (Waqidi, pp, 99-110; Ibn

Hisham, vol.II, p.286). Our authorities assert that some soldiers got a camel along with some other goods per head, while some others two camels each, and the remaining warriors got leather or leathermats only (Waqidi, pp.100-101)(11). The total shares were 325 in all: 313 for Muslims soldiers, 4 for two horses and 8 for those who could not participate in the battle because they were engaged in some other work or detained at Medina at the behest of the Prophet (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.325ff; Waqidi, p.101; Tabari, vol.II, p.478; Ibn Kathir, vol.III, p.327).

Although the exact value of the booty is difficult to determine, there are certain indications which enable a rough estimate to be made. It is significant to note that the booty fell far short of the expectations of the Muslim warriors and this realization led to some indignation so we are told by Waqidi (Waqidi, p.98). However, a standard share was a good camel (*jamal*), as was in the case of the Prophet, or two ordinary camels (bairan) as the case of Muslim warriors of the second category shows. It goes without saying that the shares of all participants including the Prophet were equal in value. Fortunately, from a statement of Waqidi we come to know that a good camel could be purchased for 40 dirhams (Waqidi, pp.400-401)(12) It would imply then that the value of a standard Muslim share was around 80 dirhams and that of total shares 26,000 dirhams (325x80). If we add the value of the *khumus* (one-fifth) i.e. 6,500 dirhams and of the *safi*, which could be roughly estimated at 250 dirhams the gross value of the booty of the ordinary warriors was around 32,750 dirhams. The total might seem to be quite large, but the individual share of a warrior was quite meagre, hence the observation of Waqidi regarding the meagreness of the booty (Waqidi, p.98).

Comparatively, the ransom-money (*fidyah*) was more valuable as the captives of Badr, or their relatives, paid 1,000 to 4,000 dirhams each. (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.292-303; Waqid1, pp.138-44; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.26; Baladhuri, vol.II, pp.301-3; Tabari, vol.II, pp.463-9ff, vol.II, pp.463-9ff; Ibn Kathir, vol.III, pp.310-14; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, pp.132-6)(13). Despite the controversy among our authorities over the actual number of captives, the majority say that they numbered seventy. But they do not give the exact figure of the captives who paid the ransom, though they agree that not all of the captives paid it. The only exception is Ya'qubi who categorically states that as many as 68 captives (Yaqubi, vol.II, p.46), acquired freedom after paying the ransom money, but he does not give the rates of ransom paid. Yaqubi's statement cannot be accepted for it not only differs from the categorical statements of some more authentic writers but also contradicts other established facts. We know for certain that several, possibly ten, penniless but literate captives were set free without payment; they were required only to teach ten Muslim boys of Medina the arts of reading and writing (Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.22; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vol.IV, p.47),(14) Apart from these literate Makkans, there were several other captives who were also released without the payment of a ransom; they are mentioned in our sources as those whom the Prophet favoured (*manna `alaihim*) (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.304-6), Waqidi, pp.138-44), or released out of benevolence and mercy.(15) Of two or three others we are told that they were executed for certain offenses (Ibn Hisham, vol, II, pp.286f; Waqidi, pp.148-9; Ibn Sa'd, vol, II, p.18; Baladhuri, vol.II, pp.297-8; Ya'qubi, vol, II, p.46; Tabari, vol.II, p.459),(16) However, a perusal of all relevant passages in our sources brings out that about 30 captives of Badr paid ransom, In case of eighteen we are definitely told that they paid 4,000 dirhams or 100 *`uqiyahs* of silver(17) the highest standard rate of ransom in the Arabia of the Prophet

(Waqidi, p.140).[18] Two more captives are reported to have paid 2,000 and 1,000 dirhams respectively (Waqidi, p.141; Baladhuri', vol, I, p.303).[19] About ten others are reported to have paid the ransom, but its amount is not disclosed (Waqidi, pp.138-44; Baladhuri, vol, I, pp.301-3; Ibn Kathir, vol.III, pp.310-12). In the case of a cousin of the Prophet, Nawfal b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib al-Hashimi, we are, however, told that he was required to pay as his ransom 1,000 small spears (*rumh*), as he was a dealer in arms (Ibn Hajar, vol.III, p.547),[20] It is reasonably safe to assume that the value of the weapons demanded from him did not exceed the standard amount of the ransom, Even if it is supposed that all these ten Makkans paid the highest amount i.e. 4,000, which is unlikely, the total would be exactly 40,000 dirhams, and the gross value of the ransom paid by the Makkan captives of Badr would have been around 115,000 dirhams.

The amount as well as the value of the *aslab* in the form of weapons and other war- equipment of those killed is once again difficult to determine. But if our reckoning in the case of the cousin of the Prophet mentioned earlier is any indication, four to five thousand dirhams would be quite a safe estimate, Thus, the gross value of all the spoils of Badr including the ordinary shares, the *safi* and the *khumus* of the Prophet, the *aslab* and the ransom-money would be around 152,750 dirhams. Making allowance for all probabilities, the gross value would not have in any case exceeded 160,000 dirhams. This is quite an impressive figure indeed. But when we come to determine the share of the individual participants, its value is no longer very impressive. If it is equally divided among the participants in Badr the share of each would be around 495.39 dirhams or 500 dirhams in round figures. However, all the warriors were not enriched so much, as the facts tell us that only the captors were the beneficiaries of the ransom-money (Waqidi, p.99), while the ordinary soldiers got very little (Waqidi, pp.98-9).

Remaining Expeditions of the Second Year

The *ghazwah* against Banu Qaynuqa', one of the principal Jewish clans of Medina which picked up a quarrel with the Muslims, was the third expedition of the year to bring some spoil to the victors, According to the popular traditions, these spoils exclusively consisted of weapons and tools of goldsmiths, as they were expert craftsmen (Waqidi, pp.178-9; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.29-30; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.309; Tabari, vol.II, p.481).[21] A modern writer assumes that "by the latter are meant tools used in making weapons and armour" (Watt, p.209). It may or may not have been the case, as there is nothing in our sources to indicate any progress in the manufacture of weapons and armours in Medina after this expedition. Neither do we have any information as to the number of weapons or of the tools of goldsmiths. Although our sources are silent on the quantum of the booty, they, however, refer to its distribution among the Muslim warriors (Waqidi, pp.176-81; Ibn S'ad. vol.II. p.28; *Ansab al-Ashraf* vol.I, p.309; Tabari, vol.II, p.481). There is a reference to the *safi* of the Prophet which is reported to have consisted of 3 bows, 3 lances. 3 swords and 2 coats of mail (Waqidi, pp.178-9; Ibn Sad, vol.II, p.29; Baladhuri, vol.I. p.309). Apart from the *safi*, there are certain other indications of the size of the booty. Almost all the early authorities agree that the Jewish soldiers numbered 700; 400 were fully clad in armour and 300 were without armour (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.428; Waqidi. p.177; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.309; Tabari, vol.II, p.480). It may be presumed that all the Jewish soldiers were at least equipped with traditional weapons of their day such as arrows and bows, swords, lances, spears and javelines.

Conjecturally, we say that the number of traditional weapons, apart from armour of course corresponded to that of their wielders. It would imply then that all the weapons and armours of the fallen enemy must come in possession of the victors, as the terms and conditions of the surrender required. But the Jews of Banu Oaynuqa' were shrewd enough to take advantage of the ignorance of the Muslims. The latter did not know the exact number of their weapons, as the enemy did not take the field and fought from the inside of their fortresses. So like Banu al-Nadir a year later, a large number of their weapons might have been concealed and carried away while they were leaving the city. Therefore. it is quite evident that the Muslims could have been deprived of a major portion of their booty on this occasion. However, if the case of the Prophet's *safi* in this *ghazwah* and the ransom paid by the Makkan Nawfal b. al-Harith al-Ha-shimi during the Badr expedition are any indications, we can safely conjecture that the gross value of the cash booty obtained from the people of Banu Qaynuqa' would not have exceeded 50.000 dirhams in any case. It is to be kept in mind that excepting the weapons and armour no other booty either in terms of cash or kind was captured from the vanquished (Supra; Cf. Muir, p.242; Glubb, p.198). What is more significant is the fact that the Jews of Banu Qaynuqa were allowed to realise the loans they had advanced to the Muslims of Medina (Waqidi, p.179; Cf. Watt, p.209).

More profitable and valuable was the landed estates (*amwal*) of the Jews of Banu Oaynuqa' which, as the popular traditions try to make us believe, came in possession of the Muslims after the fallen enemy was exiled (Waqidi, pp.178-80; Ibn Sa'd, vol, II, pp.29-30; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.309; Idem, 1957, p.27; Tabari, vol.II, p.481; Ibn al-Athir, vol, II, p.138; Ibn Khaldun, vol, II, p.759),[22] By the *amwal* is meant their fortresses (`*atam*) or walled quarters where the Jewish tribe lived, and their market (*suq*) probably with numerous shops, which was perhaps one of the principal trading centres of Medina, It is rather certain that Banu Oaynuqa' were traders and craftsmen, having no agricultural lands or productive estates, for our authorities are all agreed on this point. Notwithstanding this consensus, the possibility of Banu Qaynuqa's or at least some of its members' owning some agricultural property can not be ruled out as a report suggests.[23] Whether the conquered land was distributed among the Muslims or retained by the Prophet as his *Safi* or *fay*, it eventually led to the enrichment of a section of poor Muslims i.e. immigrants, for the Prophet is reported to have exercised the prerogative vested in him by God in connection with the *fay* lands (*The Qur'an*; 59/7-10; Tabari, vol.X, pp.Iff; Abu Yusuf, p.21; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Article *Fay*).

But a modern writer advances the thesis that Banu Qaynuqa' were not expelled from Medina; they were allowed to remain in their strongholds after their unconditional surrender and eventual pardon by the Prophet. The researcher gives very cogent and convincing arguments in support of his thesis (Barakat Ahmad, pp.161-6). If the surmise is correct, then it would imply that neither the landed-property of the Jews, nor their tools of goldsmiths constituted the booty; only weapons were captured. In that case, the spoils would have been quite negligible.

The last expedition of the year, the *ghazwah* of *al-Sawiq*, fetched to the Muslims who pursued the fleeing Makkan force under Abu Sufyan b. Harb "some of the provisions which the raiders had thrown away in the field to lighten their baggage so as to get away" (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.423; Waqidi, pp.181-2; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.310;

Tabari, vol.II, p.483; Ibn Kathir, vol.III, p.344),[(24)] Obviously, the value of the spoils thus gained was not much; at the most a couple of thousand dirhams would be a fair estimate, and between 50 to 100 dirhams would have been the share of each warrior.

From the evidence we have examined it would thus appear that during the first two years after hijrah (i.e. 622-624 A.D.) only four out of the twelve expeditions launched by Muslims yielded some booty. Out of these four only the battle of Badr and the action against Banu Qaynuqa' brought anything substantial.

Expeditions of the Third Year

Seven expeditions were undertaken during the third year (i.e. 624-625 A.D.), of which only three produced any monetary or economic benefits. The *ghazwah* to al Kudr was the first raid to bring some booty. According to one report 500 camels, and according to another 1,600 camels (*ba'ir*) constituted the spoils on this occasion, including the shares of 200 Muslim fighters, the *safi* and the *khumus* of the Prophet. Waqidi, however, prefers the first report, calling it more authentic (Waqidi, p.183).[(25)] In either case, the value of the booty captured from B. Sulaym would range between 20,000 and 70,000 dirhams at the maximum and a standard Muslim share between 100 and 300 dirhams.

The fifth expedition in the chronological order and second in terms of the size of booty, namely, the *sariyah* of Zayd. b. Harithah to al-Qaradah, involving 100 fighters, succeeded in ambushing a Makkan caravan on the eastern route (Waqidi, pp.197-8), and capturing its entire merchandise consisting of silver and gold (Ibn Hisham, vol, II, p.429; Waqidi, p.198; Tabari, vol.II, pp.492-3; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, pp.4-5)[(26)] Our sources explicitly state that the booty was to the tune of 100,000 dirhams "for the *khumus* alone was of the value of 20,000 dirhams, "implying that a standard Muslim share was exactly worth 800 dirhams (Waqidi, p.198; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.374; Tabari, vol.II, p.492).

The battle of `Uhud eventually resulted in a military setback to the Muslims, although at an early stage of the battle the Muslims had obtained considerable booty, (Waqidi, pp.230-Iff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.41; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.318; Tabari, vol.II, pp.507-10ff). A greater part of this booty was lost during the long hours of confusion and retreat (Waqidi, pp.231-2), but a few Muslims stuck to what they had obtained earlier. Two persons are said to have brought two small purses containing 50 dinars (=600 dirhams) and 13 *mithqals* of silver (=16 dirhams approximately) to the Prophet after the withdrawal of the Makkan force. This small booty was not distributed among the Muslims; it was allowed to be retained by those who had brought it (Waqidi, p.232).

Expeditions of the Fourth Year

The year 4 A.H./625-26 A.D. witnessed seven Muslim expeditions of which only two yielded some booty. The first was the *sariyah* of Abu Salamah b. `Abd al-Asad to Qatan, a watering-place of B. Asad, in Muharram/June, 625 A.D. According to a report in our sources a share of 7 camels fell to each warrior of the 150-man strong force, making a total of nearly 1,310 camels, which included those taken as the *khumus* and the *safi* of the Prophet.[(27)] In addition, the Muslims had also captured three of the

shepherds who were all slaves (Waqidi, pp.343-6; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.50; Baladhuri, vol. IV, pp.374-5; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, pp.61-2). The total value of the booty obtained would have been about 52,400 dirhams and that of a standard Muslim share about 280 dirhams.

The second and the last remunerative expedition of the year was the Prophet's *ghazwah* against the Jews of Banu al-Nadir of Medina. The vanquished were required to surrender all their weapons according to the condition of surrender. The surrendered weapons numbered 50 coats of mail, 50 helmets of iron and 340 swords. This did not probably include a large part of the weapons of the Jews for the Muslim authorities suspect that they took away most of their weapons hidden in their baggage while leaving for Khaybar. The Muslims had to be content with the left-over which was the only booty in cash or kind. The value of this booty would not exceed, we might guess, the sum of 10,000 dirhams. In fact, there was no booty neither in cash nor in kind, except the small number of weapons. Sources agree to say that the Jewish people were allowed to take with them whatever they could; and they in fact carried away all they possessed in cash or kind.

Banu al-Nadir had surrenderd on the condition that they would be permitted to take away all their possessions except weapons and estates. Violating the terms of the treaty, they tore down the doors of their houses and carried them away along with their wooden hinges and other timber-wood. They had ravaged their houses and one estate called al-Buwaylah was actually burnt to ashes before their surrender. (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.192-3; Waqidi, pp.373-80ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.58; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.339, vol.II, pp.553-5; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, pp.75-80; Barakat Ahmad, p.65)(28) Not only that, the Jewish money-lenders were given three days' time to collect their loans due from the Muslims (Waqidi, p.374; Cf. Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.75)(29).

As a result of the exile of Banu al-Nadir from Medina, their landed estates, which included palm-date gardens and fields of cultivation in addition to their residential houses situated in their strongholds and fortresses, came into the possession of Muslims (Waqidi, pp.379-80; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.58; Abu Yusuf, p.39; Yahyab. `Adam, p.21). Our sources do not give any exact details relating to this Jewish landed property or its value in terms of cash. Still they do refer to the names of several of their estates which were assigned to some Muslims by the Prophet. For instance, Abu Bakr and Umar were given two wells, the *Bi'r Hajar* and *Bi'r jaram* respectively probably along with their adjoining lands, while `Abd al-Rahman b. `Awf got the estate of Sualah, better known as the *Mal Sulaym* (property of the tribe of Sulaym). Suhayb b. Sinan received the whole tract of the Daratah, whereas Zubayr b. al-'Awwam and Abu Salamah b. `Abd al-Asad equally shared the property of *al-Buwaylah*. The estate given jointly to two *ansaris*, namely, Sahl b . Hunayf and Abu Dujanah, said to be the only recipients from among the *ansar*, was known after its former owner i.e. *Mal* of Ibn Kharashan. Ibn Sa'd adds that Abd al-Rahman also possessed another piece of property from the *amwal* of Banu al-Nadir which was called *al-Kaydamah*. Whether it was the same property given by the Prophet in *qati'ah* or a different one is difficult to ascertain. In all probability it was a free holding purchased or acquired by other means sometime later, as he is reported to have sold it later to the third caliph for 40,000 dinars (Ibn Sa'd, vol.III, pp.132-3). Some of the sources also say that the Prophet's family as well as his relations

from the clans of Banu Hashim and Banu al-Muttalib received from this *safi* or *fay* of the Prophet a regular supply of palm-dates and barley produce sufficient for their requirements during a year. (Waqidi, p.378; Cf. Abu Yusuf, p.39f; Yahyah. `Adam, p.21f; Ba1adhuri, vol.I, pp.518-9). It would imply that the *safi* or the *fay* of the Prophet sustained and provided for 10 to 15 families on a moderate scale. Though we are not in a position to determine the exact value in cash of the estates obtained from Banu al-Nadir, it may be safe to assume on the basis of the above indications that the total value was about 300,000 dirhams.

Expeditions of the Fifth Year

During the fifth year of the hijrah (626-27 A.D.) five expeditions were undertaken, out of which three yielded some booty to the Muslims. The Prophet's *ghazwah* to Dumat al-Jandal in Rabi 1/August 627 A.D. which was directed against a "gang of robbers" (*qutta' al-tariq*) belonging to some northern tribes hostile to Medina, (Waqidi, pp.403-4; Tabari, vol.II, p.564, Baladhuri, vol.I, p.341, Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.92)[30], brought some cattle (Waqidi, pp.403-4).[31] Its exact value is difficult to determine, as there is no indication in our sources either to its quantity or the shares of the Muslims. Certainly, it was not very large, for the expedition was not directed against any tribe or a group of tribes, as Caetani and Montgomery Watt tend to suggest (Cf. Watt, p.35); our sources assert very categorically that the enemy were robbers who used to plunder the mercantile caravans that passed through Dumah or came to trade in its famous market (Baghdadi, pp.263ff; Tabari, 11, pp.564f; Azraqi, pp.263ff). The value of the booty, however, could roughly be estimated at 10,000 dirhams.

Some six months later the Prophet led another expedition. On this occasion the destination was Muraysi', the watering-place of Banu al-Mustaliq, a branch of Khuza'ah, who were planning to attack Medina probably in concert with the Makkans. This time the Muslims got rich spoils which included 2,000 camels, 5,000 sheep, in addition to an unspecified number of weapons and a large quantity of goods found in the defeated warriors' saddle bags. They also captured 200 families as prisoners of war. Half of them were released eventually without any ransom on account of the Prophet's marriage with Juwayrtyah, daughter of al-Harith b. Abi Dirar, the absconding chief of the tribe. The remaining half was ransomed by their relatives (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.333ff; Waqidi, pp.404-10; Yaqubi, vol.II, p.53). Though the sources do not describe the total sum received in ransom or its rate, there are two indications which warrant a reasonable conjecture about its value. Juwayriyah bint al-Harith, we are told, fell at the time of the division of the spoils in the joint share of two Muslims, namely, Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas and a cousin of his. Thabit exchanged the share of his cousin with a small garden of dates (*nakhlah*) and became her lone master (Waqidi, pp.410-12; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.64). But she made a deal with her captor by promising to pay nine *`uqiyahs* of gold or about 4,000 dirhams, which was the highest rate of ransom in those days as illustrated by the captives of Badr. However, the Prophet himself paid her ransom and married her (Waqidi, p.711; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.64). In another case, we are told that a mother of six little children paid six *fara'id* (camels taken in the *sadaqah* or alms) for their ransom (Waqidi, p.412; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.64). This seems to be the standard rate of ransom of ordinary captives. We may not therefore be far wrong in supposing that the captives of Banu al-Mustaliq paid 600 ordinary camels or their equivalent in cash or

kind to a total value of 24,000 dirhams. At the same rate the value of the booty in cattle would come to about 100,000 dirhams. Giving an allowance for other goods and weapons captured as spoils and *salab*, the value of the whole booty of this expedition could not have exceeded 200,000 dirhams. The amount would have been less if Waqidi and Ibn Sa'd are right in saying that even the remaining 100 captive families were set free by the Prophet without any ransom (Waqidi, pp.412ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.64).

The battle of *Khandaq* (Ditch), though very important from political and military points of view, did not of course result in booty excepting perhaps the *salabs* of a few opponents killed in individual combats (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.241-7; Waqidi, pp.470ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.68; Tabari, vol.II, pp.573-7).(32) Obviously, the value of these *aslab* (personal effects of the killed enemies) was not more than a couple of thousand dirhams; and that too benefitted only a few individuals of the 3,000 strong Muslim force.

The last expedition in that year was the *ghazwah* against Banu Qurayzah, the last belligerent Jewish clan of Medina, which was destroyed soon after the grand siege of the city by the *Ahzab* (allies) forces. The Muslims obtained a rich booty in weapons, camels and cattle and domestic articles such as utensils, clothes etc., possibly in addition to various other goods. The weapons included 1,500 swords, 300 coats of mail, 2,000 lances, 1,500 shields of iron and leather (Waqidi, p.510; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.75). The quantum of other goods is not specified by our sources. Popular traditions accepted unequivocally till recently make us believe that a large number of Jewish women and children were sold as slaves in different markets of Arabia and Syria and the proceedings from their sale swelled the amount of the spoils (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, p.264; Waqidi, pp.523ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.75; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.347; Ya'qubi, vol.II, pp.52-3; Tabari. vol.II, pp.591-2; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.126).(33) But two recent well-documented researches made by W.N. Arafat (*JRAS*, 1947, II, pp.100-7)(34). and Barakat Abmad (*op.cit.*, pp.72-94) claim that neither the able-bodied men of the Jewish clan were massacred in coldblood, nor their children and women were sold as slave, nor their movable properties were seized from them. They were exiled from Medina in the same way as the Jews of Banu al-Nadir had been sent into exile two years before. In that case, the weapons and the landed estates of Banu Qurayzah would have constituted the booty. In case we accept the traditional account, the booty must have amounted to a real fortune. Fortunately, there is a tradition transmitted on the authority of Muhammad b. Maslamah, an important participant and a key figure of the expedition, which points to the exact value of the spoils. It says that a mounted soldier (*faris*) got the sum of 45 dinars (=540 dirhams) as his share in captives, goods and land (Waqidi, p.524).(35) At this rate, the total value of the booty in terms of cash would be 57,600 dinars (=691,200 dirhams) comprising the shares of 3,000 soldiers and 36 horses as well as the *khumus* of the state.(36) From this amount is excluded the value of the weapons and the *safi* of the Prophet. Presumably, the total income from this expedition would not have exceeded 60,000 dinars (=720,000 dirhams); and this seems to be quite a safe estimate.

Expeditions of the Sixth Year

In the sixth year of the hijrah (June, 627-May, 628A.D.) there were three *ghazawat* but no booty was obtained from them. Of the 18 *saraya*, during this year only

seven yielded any monetary or material benefits to the Muslims The very first expedition of the year i.e. Muhammad b. Maslamah's expedition to al-Qurata in Muharram/June fetched 150 camels and 3,000 sheep for the 30-men party (Waqidi, pp.534-5; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.78). Three months later, *asariyah* of 40 soldiers under the command of Ukkashah b. Mihsin to al-Ghamr got 200 camels in booty (Waqidi, p.550; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.85; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.377). In the same month Abu `Ubaydah b. al-Jarrah's expedition to Dhu al-Qassah succeeded in capturing some booty in cattle and goods but its quantity is not mentioned in our sources (Waqidi, p.552; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.207). It tends to suggest that it was very meagre. Zayd's *sariyah* to al-Jamum got some booty in cattle and captive which was not very much (Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.86; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.377). Although Zayd's *sariyah* to al-Is some two months later succeeded in acquiring a rich booty which included a large quantity of bullion, apart from other merchandise, from a Makkan caravan coming from Syria, the whole of the spoils were restored and one of the two captives who was none else than the leader of the caravan, Abu al-As b. al-Rabi', was set free without any ransom at the intercession of Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of the Makkan leader (Ibn Hisham, vol.I, pp.302ff; Waqidi, pp.553-4; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.87; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.377; Ya'qubi, vol.II, p.70-1; Tabari, vol.II, pp.470-72; Ibn Kathir, vol.II, pp.332ff; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, pp.134-5ff).[37] In the following month another expedition led by Zayd to al-Taraf got a booty comprising 20 camels (Waqidi,p.555; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.87). In the same month he led another *sariyah* to a place called al-Hisma which resulted in rich booty; but it was all returned, for the victims claimed to be Muslims (Waqidi, pp.559-60; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.88). Ali's expedition to Fadak which was manned by 100 soldiers some two months later obtained a comparatively good spoil in cattle to the tune of 500 camels and 2,000 sheep (Waqidi, 563; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.60). The last *sariyah* of the year was led again by Zayd b. Harithah, one of the most illustrious commanders of the Prophet's period, against a recalcitrant section of Banu Fazarab and acquired a female captive who was the lone booty of the expedition (Waqidi, p.565; Ibn Sad, vol.II, p.90).

Thus, we see that the total of the specified number of camels and sheep obtained in spoils during the sixth year of the hijrah was about 1,050 and 5,000 respectively. To this is to be added the unspecified number of the cattle, sheep and captives as well as the quantity of the goods captured in several expeditions. Taking all factors into our account we can presumably fix the number at 1,200 and 5,250 respectively for camels and sheep. According to the standard rate followed by us so far the total value of the booty in cattle would be around 69,000 dirhams. Add to this the amount paid as ransom or the value of some slaves as well as the cost of other goods, the value of the whole booty of the year could safely be estimated at 70,000 dirhams. After deducting the *khumus* of the state which was about 14,000 dirhams, the remaining must have been divided among 400 Muslim participants in the campaigns of the year. Taking this number, the standard Muslim share would have come to barely 140 dirhams.

Expeditions of the Seventh Year

The seventh year of the hijrah (628-29 A.D.) witnessed fourteen expeditions: 6 *ghazawat* and 8 *saraya*. One of the *ghazawat* was the Prophet's pilgrimage to Makkah hence there was no booty. However, most of the expeditions yielded spoils, large or small, either movable or immovable property. The very first expedition of the year, the

ghazwah of Khaybar, fetched a considerable booty in cattle, goods, jewellery and cash, and also ensured a regularly permanent source of income. Weapons in large numbers were seized from the Jews. According to Waqidi, the conquest of the fort (*Hisn*) of al-Nitat alone resulted in the Muslim acquisition of a disjointed catapult (*minjiniq*) which was instantly repaired and put into operation, in addition to two siege engines (*dabbabat*) and a large number of traditional weapons such as coats of mail, swords, iron-helmets and lances etc. (Waqidi, pp.647-8). Their number is, however, not specified. On the other hand, the fort of al-Qamus also yielded a rich booty in arms: 100 coats of mail, 400 swords, 1,000 lances and 500 Arabian bows along with their quivers (Jiab) (Waqidi, pp.670-1). The fort of al-Sab b. Muadh yielded a large booty in weapons including a catapult, several *dabbabat* and other war material apart from a large number of cattle such as cows, sheep, donkeys and a very large quantity of food, utensils, and barrels of wine (Waqidi, p.664). The sources also refer to the capture of weapons from the fort of al-Katibah (Waqidi, p.680).(38) They do not refer either to the acquisition of weapons from other forts of Khaybar or to their number. However, they do mention the fact that the Jewish fighters were to the tune of 10,000 (Waqidi, pp.634ff. Cf. Yaqubi, vol.II, p.56), and presumably all of them were adequately, if not fully, armoured and equipped (Waqidi, p.637). Obviously, all their weapons were not taken in booty, as we are told that the Jews of Khaybar surrendered soon after the fall of some of their forts and entered into an agreement of peace (*sulh*) with the Muslims. However, the weapons captured from the fallen forts were sufficient to equip a small force adequately(39).

Apart from the weapons, spoils of Khaybar consisted of a large quantity of foodstuffs which included barley, fat, honey, oil, and butter, and possibly a few other things (Waqidi, p.664). Reports tend to suggest that the Jewish people had accumulated weapons and foodstuffs sufficient for them for years; but not all these stocks were captured by the Muslims (Waqidi, p.640f. Cf. Tabari, vol.III, p.10). The Muslims also found spoils in goods, food and cattle in the fort of `Ubayyi (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, p.387; Waqidi, p.668).

In addition to various articles of domestic use and a number of leathermats the booty also included vessels of gold, silver, copper, and pottery (Waqidi, p.664)(40). The fort of al-Sab b. Muadh also yielded 20 bundles of the embroidered Yamani linen, 1,500 sheets and glass beads and pearls apart from other articles of daily use. Probably clothes, weapons and other riches were found in other forts also as in the Katibah (Waqidi, pp.664-69).

The spoils furthermore included coins, jewellery and treasure troves. A treasure belonging to the family of Abi al-Huqayq found in the fort of Sulalim consisted of a large number of bracelets, bangles, anklets, small rings, big rings, earrings of gold and strings of pearls, apart from a hoard of gold and silver coins (Waqidi, pp.671-82; Cf. Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.388-9; Tabari, vol.III, p.14). A large number of cattle and camel as well as a substantial quantity of fodder further swelled the booty. It is likely that the booty of Khaybar also comprised several other goods and articles which escaped the notice of our authorities. In addition, a substantial number of captives were taken into custody from the conquered forts (Waqidi, pp.635ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.109-120f, Ibn Hisham, vol.III, p.388).

Our sources are quite explicit in asserting that the weapons, food and fodder and leathermats were not distributed among the Muslim soldiers: they took whatever weapons they needed during the hostilities; but these were returned to the arsenal as soon as the war ended (Waqidi, p.680).

Though it is difficult to assess the exact value of the cash booty of Khaybar, there are, fortunately enough, certain indications and facts in some reports which help us in getting at least a rough estimate. A tradition in Waqidi suggests that the standard share of a mounted soldier was 11½ dinars (=138 dirhams approximately) and that of a foot soldier one third of it, i.e. 46 dirhams approximately (Waqidi, p.688). According to Ibn Ishaq's reckoning "the number of the companions among whom Khaybar's booty was divided was 1,800 with shares of horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share (Ibn Ishaq, p.522; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.201). On this basis, the value of all the shares would be 6,900 dinars. Adding the *khumus* (i.e., 1,725 dinars, and making an allowance for the *safi* of the Prophet, the entire booty of Khaybar would be about 10,000 dinars (120,000 dirhams). In this is not included the value of the weapons, food, fodder and possibly of leathermats. A sum of 5,000 dinars (=60,000 dirhams) is perhaps a reasonably safe estimate for this communal booty. Thus, we can say with some degree of certainty that the value of the movable booty of Khaybar was large in comparison to what was attained in earlier expeditions; whether it was large in relation to the expanding number of victors is another question.

The *fay* lands of Khaybar which comprised date-gardens and fields of cultivation generally termed in our sources as the *amwal* were undoubtedly the more valuable part of the acquisition. As per conditions of the treaty made with the Jews, their lands were left in their possession and they were entitled to 50% of their produce, while the other half of the produce fell to the Muslim fighters as their *ghanimah* (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.389f; Waqidi, pp.690-1; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.113-4; Tabari, vol.III, p.15). The total annual produce of Khaybar can be estimated as follows: 40,000 wasaqs of date 15,000 *sa's* of barley and 5,000 *sa's* of kernel (*nawa*); and the Muslims' share was to be half (Waqidi, p.693).[41] Once again we face the difficulty in determining the exact value of the lands or their produce; but fortunately there are certain indications which may help us. The Prophet is reported to have purchased from a warrior of Banu Ghifar his share in the land and in the movable booty of Khaybar for two camels (*ba'irayn*) (Waqidi, p.690). Interestingly, a camel from the *khumus* of Khaybar which was given in gift by the Prophet to `Umm Sinan, a female physician and surgeon from Banu Aslam, was sold by her for 7 dinars (=84 dirhams) (Waqidi, pp.686-7). Fadalah b. Ubayd, another participant, got a necklace or collar (*qaladah*) which he sold for 8 dinars (=96 dirhams) (Waqidi, p.682). More instructive is the case of Ghaziyah b. Amr who purhased some goods for 11½ dinars which was his total share as a mounted soldier and bought three shares in the fort of the Shiqq during the caliphate of Uthman for 30 dinars (=360 dirhams); one share for 10 dinars (=120 dirhams) (Waqidi, p.688). All these instances suggest that a standard Muslim share in land was valued at about 10 dinars (=120 dirhams) at the most. Taking the number of booty-sharing Muslims at 1,800, their total shares would be about 18,000 dinars (=216,000 dirhams) in land. To this should be added the value of the *khumus* i.e. 4,500 dinars (=54,000 dirhams). Thus the total value of the landed property acquired as *ghanimah* (booty) would be 22,500 dinars (= 270,000

dirhams). Making allowance for some unaccounted gains like the *safi* etc. as well as any underestimation in our calculation, the total value could be safely estimated at 25,000 dinars (=300,000 dirhams). This figure is broadly in conformity with the compensation of 50,000 dirhams paid to the Jews upon their expulsion from the land tilled by them in the region. In other words, we can put the total gains of this expedition at 40,000 dinars (=480,000 dirhams) (i.e. distributable spoils worth 10,000, weapons, food, fodder etc., worth 5.000 and lands worth 25,000 dinars).

After the conquest of Khaybar its three satellite villages or regions, Fadak, Tayma' and Wadi al-Qura also accepted the authority of the Prophet and promised to pay half of their produce (Waqidi, pp.707-711). But Wadi al-Qura capitulated only after some resistance and here some booty in movable property and cattle was also gained (Waqidi, pp.710-11). Our sources do not shed any light on the landed estates of these three settlements. There is, however, a tradition suggesting that the value of the lands of Fadak was fixed by Caliph `Umar at 100,000 dirhams and their Jewish population was compensated with 50,000 dirhams as the price of their half share when they were exiled (Waqidi, p.707). One may assume that two other settlements had the same value, and the total value of these three lands was about 150,000 dirhams. Thus, we may estimate the amount of the entire booty obtained in movable and immovable property from Khaybar, Fadak, Tayma' and Wadi al-Qura at 650,000 dirhams.

Other expeditions of the year were not so significant, for they fetched very little booty. Abu Bakr's *sariyah* in Sha'ban/December against a section of B. Kilab of Najd perhaps resulted in some booty but it is not explicitly referred to in our sources; one or two captives were brought to Medina. (Waqidi, p.722; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.118). In the same month Ghalib b. Abdullah al-Laythi's expedition to Fadak/Mayfa'ah which was sent against B. Uwal and B. `Abd b. Tha'labah to take revenge for an attack made on an earlier Muslim party, succeeded in capturing the cattle of the enemy, and women and children (Waqidi, pp.723-5; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.126). To each of the 200 strong force fell seven camels or their equivalent in sheep/goats implying that the entire booty obtained in cattle, captives or goods was equal in value to that of 1,750 camels. Two more expeditions led by Ghalib b. Abdullab and Bashir b. Sa'd al-Khazraji to al-Mayfaah and al-Jinab respectively one month later brought to the Muslims considerable spoils in cattle whose number is not mentioned (Waqidi, pp.727-8; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II pp.119-20), perhaps because it was not very large. A sum of 200,000 dirhams would perhaps be a reasonable estimate of the entire spoils obtained in all these small *saraya* and 850,000 dirhams for all expeditions (*ghazawat* and *saraya*) of the year.

Expeditions of the Eighth Year

The eighth year after the hijrah (629-30 A.D.) witnessed nearly a score of expeditions of which only six fetched some booty. The first *saryah* of the year led by Ghalib b. Abdullah to al-Kadid in Safar/June was a small party composed of 10-15 persons who received some booty in cattle and captives (Waqidi, pp.750-52; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.124-5). Next month, of Shuja b. Wahab's 24-man strong party sent to al-Siy each soldier obtained 15 camels or their equivalent in sheep, implying that the booty had 450 camels or their equivalent, and so, the total, including the *khumus* should have had the value of about 18,000 dirhams. It is interesting to note that all the women and

children taken captive were released at the behest of the Prophet when their relatives converted to Islam and came to Medina to ask for their release (Waqidi, pp.753-4). During the Mutah expedition, which reportedly turned into a military setback for the Muslims, some Muslim warriors got some booty probably in the form of the salab: a soldier obtained a ring probably of gold, while another found a ruby inlaid in the helmet of an enemy he had killed (Waqidi, pp.768-9).[(42)] It is likely that some other goods particularly weapons were also obtained. Amr b. al-As al-Sahni's expedition to Dhat al-Salasil captured some cattle slaughtered to feed the hungry warriors (Waqidi, p.771). The spoils gained in the sarlyah of Abu Qatadah b. Rib i to al-Khairah amounted to 200 camels and 1,000 sheep, in addition to some captives. To the lot of each of 16 man strong party fell 12 camels or their equivalent in sheep, apart from his share in captives or the ransom paid by their kinsmen (Waqidi, pp.779-80; lbn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.132-3). Thus, the value of all these small *saraya* may be fixed at around 50,000 dirhams.

During the great expedition that led to the conquest of Makkah no booty accrued to the Muslims except some weapons thrown by militant persons from Hudhayl and Quraysh who retired to their houses after a bloody resistance to a column of Muslims under the command of Khalid b. Walid Makhzumi (Waqidi, pp.826f).[(43)] Small *saraya* sent from Makkah to demolish tribal idols in different places perhaps brought no booty at all; in case they did it must have been very meagre (Waqidi, pp.882-84; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.145-9; Baladhuri, vol.I, pp.381-2; Cf. Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, p.64; Yaqubi, vol.II, p.61; Tabari, vol.III, pp.65f).[(44)] The richest booty of the year was secured in the great *ghazwah* of Hunayn: 24,000 camels, about 40,000 sheep/goats and 4,000 *'uqiyahs* of silver (=160,000 dirhams) (lbn Hisham, vol.IV, p.134; Waqidi, p.943)[(45)] in addition to 6,000 captives (Waqidi, p.944; lbn Sa'd, vol.II, p.152). The captives were, however, released without ransom on the appeals of the people of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, the foster relatives of the Prophet (Ibn Hisbam, vol.IV, pp.134-5; Waqidi, pp.943-55). The booty was equally divided among the Muslim soldiers after taking out the *khumus* of the Prophet. According to the reckoning of Zayd b. Thabit Khazrajt, the officer-in-charge of the muster of the soldiers and the distribution of the spoils, each foot soldier of the 12,000 strong army received 4 camels or 40 sheep/goats as his share, while his mounted counterpart got a triple share: 12 camels or 120 sheep/goats (Waqidi, p.949)[(46)].

A part from the discrepancy between the various accounts over the quantum of the booty of Hunayn, particularly the number of sheep and goats, there is a contradiction in the reports of Waqidi, Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Kathir who care to give the number of the cattle falling to the Muslim soldiers, mounted and foot. However, if we accept the account of Waqidi, which seems to be more trustworthy, the number of the cattle would be far more. Here we face another difficulty: while the total number of Muslim soldiers is unanimously stated to be 12,000, we are not told how many of these were mounted soldiers. A study of the development of the Islamic cavalry under the Prophet shows that there were at least 2,000 cavalrymen at this time (Waqidi, p.889; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.135).[(47)] On this basis, the total number of Muslim shares would have been 16,000. If the camels numbered 24,000 heads, as Waqidi would affirm, they would have sufficed for the cavalrymen only. The rest of the Muslim soldiers were given their shares from cattle or its equivalent in cash or goods. Though there is no direct and explicit mention of other goods being jaken from the people of Hawazin, it seems that goods of different kinds were also obtained (Waqidi, pp.902- l8ff).[(48)] What was their value is now almost

impossible to tell. However, if four camels are to be taken as a standard Muslim share it would seem that the entire booty including the *khumus* of the Prophet consisted of the equivalent of 80,000 camels.

If we commute the value of camels according to the rate we have followed through out, it would come to exactly 3,200,000 dirhams. Apparently, this was not the rate of commutation, for there is a very great difference between the value of reported number of camels (24,000) and sheep/goats (40,000) whose value would only come to 1,220,000 dirhams by the same commutation rates. Clearly, the entire booty of Hunayn could not be as high as over 3 million dirhams and was probably half of it.

Expeditions of the Ninth Year

Most of the expeditions of the ninth year after the hijrah (630-31 A.D.) led to the acquisition of some booty, small or large, by the Muslim warriors. The first *sariyah* of the year, i.e. 'Uyaynah b. Hisn al-Fazaris punitive campaign against a recalcitrant section of Banu Tamim in Muharram/April-May carried some captives and possibly some cattle (*mawashi*) to Medina, but all of them were returned when a deputation of their chieftains waited upon the Prophet (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.296f; Waqidi, pp.974-5ff).[49] Next month, Qutbah b Amir's *sariyah* to Bishah against a section of Khath'am got booty in cattle: to the lot of each of the 20-man strong party fell 4 camels implying that the entire booty including the *khumus* amounted to 100 camels (Waqidi, p.755; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.162). The two following expeditions did not yield any booty, but the fifth *sariyah* led by `Ali b. Abi Talib to demolish al-Fuls, the idol of Tayyi, obtained rich booty in captives, goods and cattle, apart from three swords and an equal number of coats of mail found in the temple (Waqidi, pp.984-5; Tabari, vol.III, pp.111-l2ff; Cf. Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, pp.246f). There is no indication in our sources as to what was the quantum of the booty or the share of a Muslim. Therefore, it is impossible to determine its real value During the Tabuk expedition Khalid b. Walid Makhzumi led a *sariyah* against the Kindi ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, Ukaydir b. `Abd al-Malik, and obtained from him a booty of 2,000 camels, 800 ra's (heads of sheep), 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. He took out the *safi* and the *khumus* of the Prophet and then distributed the booty among his soldiers: each of the 420 strong party got 5 camels or their equivalent (Waqidi, pp.1027-29; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.166; Cf. Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, pp.181f; Baladhui, vol I, pp.382-3; Ibn Kathir, vol.II, p.7).[50] This would imply that the value of the booty was equal to 2625 camels plus *safi*. On the basis of our reckoning it would come to about 105,050 dirhams.

Expeditions of the Tenth Year

In the tenth year after the hijrah (631-32 A.D.) only one expedition, i.e. the *sariyah* of `Ali b. Abi Talib Hashimi to al-Yaman got some booty in cattle, captives and clothes etc. Apparently, the captives were set free, as they accepted Islam a little later, but the other spoils were distributed (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.319; Waqidi, pp.1080-81).[51] Thus, we find that only four of all the expeditions that were launched during the last two years of the Prophet's life yielded some booty; and in most of them it was very meagre. It may be presumed that the entire value of these expeditions did not exceed 250,000 dirhams in any case.

Total Estimate

The above sets out the evidence we have for all the spoils obtained through the Prophet's "expeditions" over a period of ten years. It is clear that barely half of them yielded booty; and, in most cases, it was very meager. Of these, the campaigns against the Jewish tribes of Medina and the northern regions fetched notable returns. The riches booty, which accounts for almost a half of all spoils of the period was obtained, from an Arabian tribe, the Hawazin. The Muslims got very little booty from their erstwhile enemies i.e. Quraysh whose caravans are thought to have first aroused their appetite for plunder'. We give below a summary statement of the gains from the expeditions, with our own estimates of value where direct statements are not available. The reasons for our estimates in each case have already been furnished.

Year	S. No.	Expedition	Estimated value of the booty	
2/624	1	Nakhlah	20,000	Dirhams
"	2	Badr al-Kubrā	160,000	"
"	3	B. Qaynuqā'	250,000	"
"	4	al-Sawīq	2,000	"
3/624-5	5	al-Kudr	20,000	"
"	6	al-Quradah	100,000	"
"	7	'Uḥud	616	"
4/625/6	8	al-Qaṭan	52,400	"
"	9	al-Naḍīr	300,000	"
5/626-7	10	Dūmah	10,000	"
"	11	Muraysī'	200,000	"
"	12	al-Khandaq	2,000	"
"	13	B. Qurayẓah	720,000	"
6/627-8	14	al-Quraṭā'		
"	15	al-Ghamr		
"	16	Dhū al-Qaṣṣah		
"	17	al-Jamūm	70,000	"
"	18	al-Ṭaraf		
"	19	Fadak		
"	20	B. Fazārah		
7/628-9	21	Khaybar		
"	22	Fadak		
"	23	Taymā'	650,000	"
"	24	Wādī al-Qurā		
"	25	Najd		
"	26	Fadak		
7/628-9	27	al-Mayfa'ah	200,000	"
"	28	al-Jihāb		
8/629-30	29	al-Kadīd		
"	30	al-Sīy		
"	31	Mūtah		
"	32	al-Khaḍirah	50,000	"
"	33	*Fatḥ* Makkah		
"	34	Ḥunayn	3,200,00	"
9/830-31	35	Bīshah		
"	36	al-Fuls		
"	37	Dūmah	150,000	"
10/631-32	38	al-Yaman		
		TOTAL	6,157,016	dirhams

Giving a safety margin for any errors in estimation, we can estimate the total at 6,200,000 dirhams. But several considerations would suggest that this may well be too high a figure. First, the average rate of commutation of camels into cash was probably much below the rate of 40 dirhams per camel that we have adopted; the value of the booty of the landed property of the B. Qaynuqa (which was largely returned) has been included; if this value is substracted from the total, there will be a reduction of 200.000 dirhams. Thirdly, the value of the booty gained in the battle of Hunayn was not more than one and half million dirhams, though the direct statements of the authorities seem to put it at 3.2 million dirhams. If the latter amount is halved, there will be a further reduction of at least 1,600,000 dirhams.

Conclusion

Now we can go on to see how far the booty contributed to the enrichment of the Muslim economy of Medina. There is a general assumption, as we have seen at the outset, that the booty greatly enriched the Muslims, and on the face of it, our evidence seems to confirm this notion But there are some important considerations and factors which should be kept in mind while determining the role of booty in the Muslim economy; generally these have not been adequately taken into account.

(I) Booty as a Means of Subsistence

In the first instance, for how many persons' sustenance the booty would have accounted? Quite naturally, it is not easy to work out the cost of subsistence at that time. But there are a few pointers. To maintain himself, his wife, a *mawla* and three children, Abu-Bakr as caliph needed a salary of 3,000 dirhams per year, which was considered barely enough for subsistence (Ibn Sa'd, vol.III, pp.185-93).[(52)] An other tradition suggests that 1,440 dirhams a year could have been needed for food alone for a small family (Waqid1, p.635)[(53)] On the basis then of 3,000 dirhams per family. the total amount of the booty would have sufficed for only 207 families over the 10 years period. Obviously, the Muslim population of Medina alone, not to talk of the Arabian peninsula, was larger in the period under review.

Although no demographic data of Medina during the Prophet's lifetime is available there are still certain interesting suggestions in our sources. Barakat Ahmad holds that the Jewish population of the city at the time of the hijrah could have comprised 30,000 to 42,000 individuals forming 5,000 to 6,000 consanguinal families (Barakat Ahmad, pp.42-3). Undoubtedly, the Muslim population of the city including the *ansar* and the *muhajirun* of the Qurayash as well as other Arabian tribes could not have been less than that of the Jews. It was gradually but steadily swollen by fresh arrivals of later immigrants as well as conversions. From Ibn Ishliq's and Wliqidi's break-up of the tribal contingents constituting the Prophet's army on the occasion of the conquest of Makkah we find that at least 5,000 soldiers belonged to the *ansar* and the *muhajirs* of Medina (Ibn Ishaq, p.557).[(54)] Allowing for the purely non-participating and civilian segment of Muslim community, an army of this size (Wliqidi, pp.800ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.135) suggests a minimum population of 50,000 for Medina. After the conquest of Makkah, the Muslim population of Medina grew rapidly. So two years later, during the great expedition of Tabuk the number of the Medinese participants was

probably 10,000 at least.[(55)] Ibn Kathir puts the number of Muslims at Medina at this time at 30,000 but this may well be an underestimation (Ibn Kathir, 1982-3, p.277).[(56)] Proceeding on the basis of these estimates, we can say that the ten years' spoils would have barely sufficed for one-thirtieth of the in habitants of Medina.

Further, Muslim population was not confined only to the city of the Prophet and its precincts; there was a sizeable population of Muslims at various spots of the Arabian peninsula. According to Muhammad Hamidullah's reckoning as many as 140,000 Muslims had attended the last hajj of the Prophet and their total population through out the length and breadth of the peninsula could be estimated somewhere between 500,000 and 1,000,000 souls (Cf. Hamidullah, 1974, p.80). If we accept the least figure, the total Muslim expenditure of a year would come to about 300,000,000 dirhams.

It would imply that the entire booty accounted for merely 0.207% of the total expenditure. In connection with the Muslim population living outside Medina, another point may be kept in mind. No individual or group from among them is known to have gone to war or on expedition on its own during the lifetime of the Prophet. This would mean that despite their number being so much larger than the Muslim population of Medina, their income remained unaugmented by booty.

(II) Expenses incurred on Expeditions

Another economic factor, which is generally neglected, relates to the expenses the Muslims incurred on organising their military expeditions. It need not be overemphasised that large sums of money were required and actually spent on the manning and equipping of these expeditions with weapons, transport, cloth, food and fodder and a host of other things. Though there is no exact or approximate information about these military expenses, a rough idea of what the Muslims might have spent on their military expeditions may be formed from some limited and indirect evidence. The Makkans are reported to have spent as many as 50,000 dinars (=6000,000 dirhams) on their 3,000 strong expedition to `Uhud (Waqidi, pp.199-200; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.37). For the expedition of al-Khandaq each person of Makkah contributed at least an *`uqiyah* of silver (=40 dirhams), and there by they raised a "fabulous amount" (*al-amwal al-izam*) which was enough to sustain a large army of 10,000 soldiers (Waqidi, p.389). On the Muslim side, after the conquest of Makkah and on the eve of his departure for the battle of Hunayn, the Prophet is said to have borrowed a sum of 130,000 dirhams (= 10,830.33 dinars), in addition to a large number of weapons, from three wealthy Makkans (Waqidi, pp.854, 63-4; Cf. Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, p.68)[(57)] in order to equip the poorer Muslims who probably numbered 2,000 or a little less for the coming expedition. We may suppose, then, that the conquerors of Makkah and Hunayn must have spent on their principal force at least one million dirhams. Regarding the Tabuk expedition we are told that Uthman b. Affan alone contributed 70,000 dirhams or more (Waqidl, p.991; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.368)[(58)], for equipping one third of the poorer participants of the expedition, implying that the total expenses on such Muslim soldiers was about a quarter of a million dirhams. Going by the rate of computation we have followed in this article the expenses on 20,000 camels and 10,000 horses alone would come to about three million dirhams apart from those on the weapons, clothes, food and fodder etc. The total number of Muslim soldiers involved during the decade of fighting aggregating

from individual expeditions should be 100,000.[59] If the Makkan expenditure on the `Uhud expedition is taken as a standard, the total of all the military expenses of the Muslims incurred during the lifetime of the Prophet would be more than fifteen million dinars or one hundred eighty million dirhams. But the Makkans were a far richer community and the Muslim expenditure could not have been on a similar scale. Even if we reduce the estimated expenditure by a third, it could not have been less than 60.33 million dirhams. Even this amount is about ten times larger than the total value of the entire booty captured by the Muslims during the whole period under review.

(III) Losses caused by Expeditions

Apart from the direct expenses on their military campaigns, the Muslims also incurred some expenses which were in a way connected with them and which further reduced the margin of the gain. Such were the expenses on maintenance of prisoners of war and captives. It is a well known fact that the captives of Badr were looked after in an exemplary manner; their Muslim captors provided them with food and lodging. even when they themselves remained hungry in some cases (Ibn Hisham, vol.II. pp.288-9ff; Waqidi, pp.138-40; Baladhuri, vol.I, pp.305ff; Tabari. vol.II. pp.463ff)[60]. The captives of Hawazin were provided with new clothes and the Prophet spent a considerable amount on their purchase (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.90-92. Waqidi, pp.950-4; Tabari, vol.III, pp. 86-7). These are not the only examples of this kind of expenditure; other instances could be found in the sources (Ibn Ishaq. pp.676-7; Baladhuri, vol.I, p.376; Waqidi, pp.411ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.75)[61].

Another factor, which substantially reduced the margin of benefits from the military campaigns, was the material losses, sometimes very heavy, which the Medinese populace in particular and Muslim tribes of adjacent regions suffered as the after math of the military operations. Before the hostilities broke out between Makkah and Medina, Kurz b. Jabir Fihri, a Makkan leader of some standing who became Muslim later, attacked a pasture land (*hima*) of Medina known as the Jamma and carried away a number of milch camels of the Muslims, besides killing the man incharge of the *hima* (Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.9-10; Tabari, vol.II, p.407). To take revenge for the defeat of his compatriots at Badr as well as to fulfill his vow, Abu Sufyan b. Harb the commander of the Qurayshite forces, attacked the suburbs of the capital city called "al-Urad and there they burnt some young palm-trees and finding one of the Helpers and an ally of his working the fields there, they killed and re turned" (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.238; Waqidi, p.12). Just before the battle of Uhud the Makkan forces laid waste a large area by destroying the ripe crops of the Medinan Muslims. The losses in terms of food and fodder were very heavy, for they seem to have reduced the people of Medina to the verge of starvation. The news of this destruction made most of the Medinan cultivators panicky and provoked the overzealous to virtually convince the Prophet to fight the enemy in the open field against his will (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.422-3; (Waqidi, pp.207ff; Tabari, vol.II, p.507). Similarly, during the month long siege of Medina, unruly Arabian forces of the Ahzab played havoc in the adjoining areas by their acts of devastation and pillage, although this time the crops were saved probably by early harvesting (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.239-40; Waqidi, pp.405ff). In the following year a Muslim mercantile caravan going from Medina to Syria under the leadership of Zayd b. Harithah, in which the Medinan Muslims had invested a considerable amount of capital,

was plundered by some hostile tribesmen of the north (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.290-1; Waqidi, pp.564-5; Tabari, vol.III, p.155). Although the "expeditions" to Bi'r Maunah and al-Raji were of a purely religious nature, nevertheless they too involved the loss in lives, weapons and goods (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.183-7ff; Waqidi, pp.346-62; Tabari, vol.II, pp.538-42ff). Muslims also suffered such heavy losses in various other wars and expeditions such as `Uhud (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.15ff; Waqidi, pp.231ff), *suriyah* of Muhammad b. Maslamah to Dhu al-Qassah (Waqidi, pp.551-2), *sariyah* of Zayd to Wadi al-Qura (Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.290-1; Waqidi, p.564), *sariyah* of Bashir b. Sa'd to Fadak (Waqidi, p.723), *sariyah* of Ibn al-Awja' against a section of Sulaym (Waqidi, p.741; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.123), *sariyah* of Kab al-Ghifari to Dhat al-Atlah (Waqidi, p.752; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.127-8), *sariyah* of Mutah (Ibn Hisham, vol.III, pp.433ff; Waqidi, pp.755ff; Tabari, vol.III, pp.39ff) and possibly a few others; these were all military defeats which brought in their train material losses, sometimes heavy, in cash, cattle and property. These losses were, of course, in addition to the inevitable ones incurred by the Muslims in their successful expeditions in terms of human lives and material goods.(62) Although the losses were smaller in comparison to gains, they too should be taken into account while determining the net value of the spoils gained.

(IV) Profile of the Muslim Economy

Finally, we come to the profile of the Muslim economy of the Arabian Peninsula during the first decade of the Islamic state. Essentially, there were four kinds of economic activities; trade and commerce; agriculture; handicraft and manufacture; and manual labor. This is not the proper place to discuss the role of these basic economic elements, for they would require an elaborate discussion.(63) But it may be said here that the first two vocations, trade and agriculture, served as the backbone of the Muslim economy of the period; the role of the last two was not, however, very insignificant. Many Makkan companions of the Prophet were not as poor or destitute at the time of the hijrah as they have been thought to be by some modern scholars; in fact, most of them were well-to-do while few of them were quite wealthy and they had generally succeeded, with a few exceptions which could be counted on finger tips, in bringing their movable property in cash and goods to Medina, as I have shown elsewhere.(64) Similarly. The Medinese *ansar* also earned their livelihood with some ease and several of them were quite wealthy. After the establishment of the Islamic state at Medina commercial and agricultural pursuits of the Muslims grew and expanded gradually and steadily and within a short span of time many of them acquired great riches. The view that the Makkan immigrants acquired fabulous wealth through trade and commerce only after the death of the Prophet and in the wake of great conquests of the early caliphs is erroneous (Cf. Watt, p.220), for we find that several of them had built up fortunes even in the very first decade. Uthman b. Affan, Abd al-Rahman b. Awf, 'Umar b. al-Khattab, Talhah b. `Ubaydullah, al Zubayr b. Al-Awwam among the *muhajirs* and Sa'd b. Ubadah and his sons Qays, Sa'd b. Muadh, Sa'd b. al-Rabi, Qatadah b. al-Numan, Abu Ayyub and several others among the *ansar*, apart from a number of Jewish converts, were fairly wealthy people. They accumulated wealth mainly through commercial and agricutural pursuits.(65) Apart from the people of the capital-city there were a number of wealthy and well-to-do people throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Obviously, they too had acquired their fortunes either through inheritance or commercial activity, or if through war, then only previous to Islam, for the *razziaz*, traditional bedoum source for

the acquisition of wealth, were completely stopped after their conversion. In the final analysis, therefore, we find that the contribution of booty to the income of the Muslim population at the time of the Prophet was practically insignificant. In clearer terms we can say now that the income through peaceful pursuits accounted for more than 98% of the Muslim economy, while that of the spoils contributed less than 2% to its enrichment.

(V) Real value of Booty

It should not on the other hand be thought that since in aggregate their contribution was negligible then the spoils (*al-maghanim*) had no role at all to play in the economic life of the early Muslims, particularly the people of Medina. The fact is that the spoils were of some help to them since they considerably eased the financial position of the individual warriors and their families, particularly in the first half of the period under review. The Muslims and the Medinese in particular were then living in an isolated island, surrounded by hostile tribes. A number of hazards hampered the natural progress and growth of their commercial, agricultural or even industrial pursuits, for they were always preoccupied with either actual armed conflicts and hostilities or lived in a state of apprehension and fear. The spoils, particularly those obtained from the Jewish tribes of Medina and later of Khaybar and its satellite villages, contributed largely to strengthening the Muslim economy of Medina (Watt, p.220). There seems, interestingly enough, a tendency among the Muslim participants of military campaigns to invest their proceedings from the spoils in real estates such as palm-date gardens, fields of cultivation, residential houses and possibly shops and merchandise.(66) Whether investments were made in productive or non-productive pursuits, they invariably led to some improvement of the economy. It need not be over emphasised that the investment of the capital in productive occupations not only eased the financial position of the investors but also resulted eventually in the enrichment of the communal economy of the region or city. All the same, it should always be borne in mind that the booty came simply as a *result* of the expeditions and battles which themselves were caused by political considerations or religious objectives, and seldom, if at all, by consideration of booty. In fact, the prospects of booty neither motivated, nor provoked and nor caused the expeditions and campaigns. In the final analysis it may be concluded that they gave at the most a stimulus to the development of the Muslim economy of Medina which was otherwise essentially based on the more solid ground of commerce and agriculture pursued by an industrious and peace-loving population.

Notes

(1) Interestingly enough, this ill-conceived notion explicitly or implicitly permeates the writings of the orientalists through the ages, whether early polemics of the medieval period or scientific studies of the modern times. For example, see Sancelot Addison, 1979, pp.70-88ff; Washington Irving, 1876, pp.94-5; Sir William Muir, 1923, pp.294-6ff; H. Lammens, 1968, pp.28-9ff; D.S. Margoliouth, 1905, p.238ff; Tar Andre, 1956, pp.140-45ff; Carl Brockelmann, 1952, pp.23-25ff; R.V.C. Badley, 1954, pp.134-5ff; Maxime Rodinson, 1971, p.151, p.162ff; G.E. Grunebaum, 1970, pp.35-6ff; Philip K. Hitti, 1958, pp.116-22, 1970, pp.15-16ff; John Baget Glubb, 1970, pp.173ff; W. Montgomery Watt, 1972, pp.1-10ff. and a host of others.

(2) For a full discussion on the subject see my monograph, *Early Expeditions of the Prophet*: Motives, Issues and Objecoves (Urdu) serialised in Burhan, Delhi, Dec. 1982-Sept. 1983; and published as a monograph in *Nuqoosh*, Rasul Number, XII, Lahore, 1984.

(3) It is interesting to note that a scholar such as Watt considers the prospect of financial betterment as one of the reasons for attack on the Jews. He says: "To suggest that Muhammad was unaware of the wealth of the Jews would be a serious underestimate of his intelligence. To make this the sole reason, however, for his attacks on the Jews is to be unduly materialistic. The wealth of the Jews was certainly of great benefit to him and considerably eased his financial position, and the prospect of financial betterment may have influenced the timing of his attacks on the Jews". (Watt, *op. cit*., p. 220).

(4) For a detailed account of the expeditions of the Prophet see Waqidi, 1965, 3 VoIs.; Ibn Hisham, n.d. vol.II, pp.223-24; vol.III, pp.3-47; vol.IV, pp.3-319; Ibn Sa'd, 1957, vol.II, pp.5-189; Baladhuri, 1959, vol.I, pp.287-384ff; Ya'qobi, 1960, vol.II, pp.45-78; Tabari, 1961, vol.II, pp.402-657; vol.III, pp.9-158; Ibn al-Athir, 1965, vol.II, vol.III, p.134; Ibn Khaldun, 1956, vol.II, pp.744-855; Ibn Kathir, 1932, vol.III, pp.234-357; vol.IV, pp.2-375; vol.V, pp.2-222; Also see Muhammad b. Habib al-Baghdadi, 1942, pp.110-125; Baladhuri, 1958, pp.8-130.

(5) For instance see W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit*., Excursus B, pp.339-43, who has mainly based his list of the expeditions on that of Leon Caetani, *Annali dell Islam*, Milan, 1905, 8 C.

(6) There are strong reasons to believe that the caravan was a small affair. First, it was not a caravan of the Quraysh tribe or a tribal caravan as is generally projected; it was a caravan of a small family of the clan of B. Makhzum, and more precisely a business convoy of two Makhzumis, namely, \`Uthman b. \`Abdullah and his brother Nawfal and two of their associates \`Amr b. al-Hakami and Hakam b. Kaisan. Secondly, it was not a big caravan, escorted by four persons only. Thirdly, it was coming from Ta'if, being a small convoy of local trade which was of a very moderate size. Fourthly, it carried quite cheap articles. Lastly, there are only passing references to the booty obtained by the Muslims in this *sariyah*, compared to those found in regard to other expeditions whose spoils are generally described in greater details.

(7) Abd al-Rahman b. \`Awf is reported to have collected some of the coats of mail thrown by the fugitive Makkans.

(8) Waqidi, *op. cit*., pp.82, 96, 102, 102-3ff; Ibn Sa'd. *op cit*., vol.II, p.18ff; Cf. Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.118; who seems to suggest that the captured horses numbered 30, while 70 cavalrymen of Makkah managed to escape. Also see, William Muir, op cit., 228, who says that "on the way home from Badr, the day after the battle, the booty was divided. Every man was allowed to retain the plunder of such as had been slain by his own hand ... The booty consisted of 115 camels, 14 horses, an endless store of vestments of carpets, articles of fine leather, with much equipage and armour."

(9) Waqidi, *op cit*., pp.100-103; Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., vol.II, p.19; Baladhuri, Ansab al-Ashraf, vol.I, p.294; Tabari, *op cit*., vol.II, pp.478-9; Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit*., vol.II, p.137. Of these, only Baladhuri holds in one of his two traditions that the sword belonged to al-'As b. al-Munnabib b. al-Hajjaj, but in the other he seems to be doubtful about its owner as he asserts that it belonged either to his father or his uncle, Nubayb Ibn al-Athtr adds that the Prophet gave the coveted sword to `Ali b. Abi Talib. Cf. W. Muir, *op cit*., p.229 who explains that "this sword was selected by him beyond his share... True, but the Prophet always gave away the *safi* to some of his followers for his meritorious act and to encourage others to follow his Suit."

(10) Waqidi, *op. cit*., p.103, says that the Makkans offered one hundred camels for the animal of Abu Jahl, but the Prophet declined their offer and slaughtered it during the Hudaybiyah expedition as the hadyi for his `*omrah* (Lesser Pilgrimage). Cf. lbn Sa'd, *op. cit*., vol.II, p.19, who adds that the animal was Mahari - a species of good quality from Maharah, an important region of the south which was famous for its good quality animals.

(11) Waqidi, *op. cit*., pp.100-101, is the only authority who provides details of the shares of the booty. All others simply refer to its equal division among the Muslims. Cf. W. Muir, *op. cit*., p.229, who renders the relevant passage as follows: "To the lot of every man fell a camel, with its gear; or two camels unaccounted; or a leathern couch, or some such equivalent." Obviously, it is wrong and arbitrary rendering.

(12) Waqidi, 400-401, mentions that during the return journey from the Dhat al-Riqa' expedition in 5AH/627AD, the Prophet purchased a camel (*Jamal*) from his companion, Jabir b. `Abdullib for 40 dirhams or one `uqiyah. Interestingly, in the beginning the Prophet bargained and offered only one dirham but when the seller declined, he went on increasing the price and the deal was done at 40 dirhams. Obviously, this was the price of a good quality camel. An ordinary camel (*burdah*) meant for riding could be had for 4 dirhams only, as the case of Abu `Abs b. Jabr, a participant in the Khaybar expedition shows (Waqidi, pp.635-6). The price of an extraordinary good quality camel could go up to 300 or 400 dirhams or even more, as we find these prices for the camels of `Umayyah b. Khalaf Jumahi and the Prophet respectively. Incidentally, both were purchased in Makkah before the hijrah and, significantly enough, `Ummayyah's camel, which was considered best in the whole valley, was included in the booty of Badr (Waqidi, p.33; and Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.1, pp.511-12, respectively).

(13) Cf. D.S. Margoliouth, *op. cit*., p.267, who surmises that the decision to take ransom from the cap tives was caused by `economic considerations'; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p.13, who thinks on the other hand that it aimed "to win the hearts of the Meccans."

(14) Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.22, gives two traditions to this effect: the second adds that Zayd b. Thabit learnt the art of writing from one of the captives of Badr. Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Ahmad Muhammad Shakir, Dar a1- Ma'arif, Cairo, 1948, vol.IV, p.47, (No.2216). Cf. W. Muir, *op cit*., p.234; D.S. Margoliouth, *op. cit*., pp.270-71; Shibli Numani, vol.1, p.332.

(15) Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.304-6, mentions 4 only - Abu al-'As b. Al-Rabi' of `Abd Shams, Muttalib b. Hantab of Makhzum, Sayfi b. `A'idh of Makhzum, and Abu `Azzah `Amr b. `Abdullah of jumah. Waqidi, pp.138-44, adds 5 more names to the list of Ibn lshaq and Ibn Hisham.

(16) The authorities agree that two Makkan leaders, `Uqbah b. Abi Mu'ayt of `Umayyah and al-Nadr b. al-Harith of `Abd al-Dar, who were accused of perpetrating atrocities, were killed in captivity. See Ibn Ishaq. Engg. tr. p.308; Ibn Hisham, vol.II, p.286f; Waqidi, pp.148-9; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.18; Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.1, pp.297-8; Ya'qubi, vol.II, p.46; Tabari, vol.II, p.459; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, pp.130-31; Ibn Kathir, vol.III, pp.305-6. Baladhuri adds the name of u'aymah b. `Adi of Nawfal to the list.

(17) Waqidi, pp.138-44; Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf* vol.I, pp.301-303. For the exchange rate of `uqiyah and dirhams see Waqidi, pp.41, 400.

(18) Waqidi, p.140, mentions that the mother of Abu `Aziz b. `Umayr, a pagan brother of the famous companion Musa'b b. `Umayr, paid the ransom for his son only after ascertaining the highest amount of ransom fixed for the captives of Ouraysh.

(19) Waqidi, p.141; Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.I, p.303. Abu al-Mundhir b. Abi Rifa'ah and his brother `Abdullah respectively paid these amounts.

(20) Cf. Muhammad Hamidullah, *Battle fields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Hyderabad Deccan 1973. It appears that Nawfal b. al-Harith had stored *rimah* (spears) in large quantities at Jeddah obviously for commercial purposes.

(21) Only Baladhuri adds that the Prophet gave two coats of mail to Sa'd b Muah and Muhammad b. Maslamah from the weapons found in their forts. Waqidi, lbn Sa'd, Baladhuri, Tabari and lbn Khaldun, however, refer to the distribution of the spoils among Muslims.

(22) Except the latter who uses the term diya', all other authorities use the term *amwal* or its singular *mal*.

(23) Cf. Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.1, p.266, who says that `Abdullah b. Sallama leading figure of Banu Qaynuqa', was working in his palm-date garden (`*idhq*) at the time of the Prophet's arrival at Medina.

(24) The authorities generally do not refer to the quantity of the *sawiq*; only lbn Hisham and Ibn Kathir call it *sawiq Kathir* and *azwaid Kathirah* respectively. Some idea, however, may be had from the fact that the raiders numbered 200; and in another tradition their number is said to have been 40 only. It appears that the Makkan force had discarded bags of *sawiq* in the field situated in the valley of al `Urayd which they set on fire before their retreat.

(25) Waqidi says that apart from camels, the booty also consisted of a slave captive. But the captive, Yasar, immediately became Muslim, so he was set free by the Prophet in whose share he had fallen either as *ghanimah* or as *safi*. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.31; Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.I, p.310; Tabari, vol.II, p.483; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.139; Ibn Khaldun, vol.II, p.755. The last three do not refer to the quantity of the booty, excepting that it consisted of cattle but, curiously enough, except Ibn Khaldon, all say that the Muslims had captured grazers of the cattles (*ru'a'ahum*), implying that there were more than one captive. Also see Ibn Hisham, vol.II, pp.421-22 and Ibn Kathir, vol.III, p.344, who do not refer to the booty at all.

(26) According to Waqidi, Abu Zam'ah invested a capital worth 300 mithqals of gold and silver bars, while Safwan b. `Umayyah, the leader of the caravan, had an investment of bullion and silver vessels worth 30,000 dirhams, Cf. Ibn Sa'd, 11, 36; Ibn Hisham, 11,429; Tabari, 11,492-93; lbn Kathir, IV, 4-5. Tabari, 11,492, in one of his traditions says that the merchandise was entirely composed of bullion, which was the real merchandise of Quraysh. He, however, does not give the volume or quantum of this caravan; Ibri Kathir, IV, 4-5, follows the tradition of Ibn Isbaq.

(27) According to Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.62, the *safi* of the Prophet on this occasion included one of the three slave shepherds captured in booty.

(28) Cf. Yaqubi, vol.II, p.49, who, however, reports incorrectly that they were forced to leave behind all their silver and gold, apart from weapons, and allowed to take only the lumber of their goods which their camels could carry. Most of the above mentioned authorities, however, suggest that two persons were converted to Islam and their *amwal* were therefore restored to them. Another important point to remember in this connection is that the number of Muslim recipients was not very large.

(29) Waqidi says that `Usayd b. al-Hudayr owed 120 dinars including 50% annual interest to Abi Rafi' Sallam b. Abi al-Huqayq, but the creditor agreed to be content with capital only i.e. 80 dinars and left the interest. Cf. Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.75, who, however, doubts the authenticity of the report about the Jewish money-lenders collecting their loans from their Muslim debtors.

(30) Waqidi says that a large group or multitude (jama' kathir) of non-Arab people had collected at the Dumah and molested all those merchants who passed through them. A large section of the Arabs had also joined them later. Also see lbn Sa'd, 11, 62; Tabari, vol.II, p.564; lbn al-Athir, vol.II, p.177; Ibn Khaldon, vol.II, p.773, who faithfully follow Waqidi. Cf. Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.I, p.341, which mentions that the tribes involved were Quza'ah and Ghassan; Ibn Kathir, who does not mention the names of any tribes, says that the destination of the expedition was the lower Syria.

(31) Waqidi says that the Prophet captured some of their cattle and shephards at their pastures in Diumah. Then, he stayed there and Sent several small parties (*al-saraya*) to different regions and each *sariyah* got some booty in camel.

(32) All these authorities refer to the killing of `Amr b. Wudd and Nawfal b. `Abdullah by `Ali and Zubayr b. AI-'Awwam respectively. Some of them also refer to the killing of a Jew by Safiyah, the aunt of the Prophet. Probably the aslab of the killed were taken by Muslim victors. There is a reference to `Ikramah b. Abi Jahl throwing his lance (*rumh*) while fleeing. All these references warrant to conclude that some *salab* was obtained by the Muslims in this expedition also.

(33) Of all the authorities, only Waqidi says that the number of the captives was one thousand of which the *khumus* (1/5th) was taken by the Prophet. Some of these falling in the share of the state were released, while some others were distributed among the Muslims. It puts the number of the slaves sold in markets of Arabia or kept as domestic slaves in the city somewhere between 800 and 1000 - probably around 900. It is difficult to determine the exact value obtained as the proceeds of their sale. There is, however, a tradition which says that a Jewish merchant, namely Abo al-Shahm, had purchased two women along with their six infant children for 150 dinars (= 1, 800 dirhams). On this basis it may be conjectured that the proceeds from their sale would have been about 2,000 dinars (= 24,000 dirhams).

(34) W.N. `Arafat, "New Light on the Story of Banu Qurayza and the Jews of Medina", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1976, II, 100-07.

(35) The tradition is narrated on the authority of Muhammad b. Maslamah himself. According to him, he had invested his share of the booty in purchasing a woman along with her two sons. Incidentally, this too substantiates, to some extent the earlier tradition relating to the purchase of two women along with their six children by Abu al-Shahm al-Yahudi. It also asserts that the mounted soldiers received the triple share i.e. three shares as compared to one share of a foot soldier. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, 11, 75, who supports Waqidi's tradition in this connection.

(36) The total has been calculated on the basis that the ratio between the shares of a mounted-soldier and the foot was that of 3 to 1.

(37) Waqidi and his followers i.e. Ibn Sad and Baladhuri hold that several of the escorts of the Makkan caravan were taken into custody. While Waqidi mentioned only two of the captives, i.e, Abo al-'As b. Al-Rabi' and al-Mughirah b. Mu'awiyah b. al-'As, both of his followers mention the name of the former only. Yaqubi, on the other hand, maintains that Abo al-'As had earlier escaped but he came on his own to Medina to take shelter with Zaynab. He adds that Abo Sufyan was also present in this caravan. The third version is that of Ibn Isbaq which is faithfully followed by the rest. It mentions that all escorts had escaped while Abu al-'As had come to Medina on his own. However, the version of Waqidi is more convincing. If we

accept it, it would imply that except Abu al-'As all other captives were ransomed, though there is no indication to it in our sources. It is, however, very difficult to determine the ransom paid by the Makkan captives. If at all it was paid, in all probability it was quite meagre. On the contrary, there is a strong possibility that no ransom was paid and all captives were set free for human considerations as the sources tend to suggest.

(38) Waqidi says that the victors got a rich booty in goods, linen, sheets, weapons, cattle, food and leather mats.

(39) My book, *Orgonisation of Government Under the Prophet*, Delhi, 1986, pp.202-3.

(40) All these were found in the fort of al-Sa'b b. Mu'adh. Also see Waqidi, p.687.

(41) These figures are based on my calculation. Waqidi refers to the produce of the Katibah alone which was as follows: 8,000 *wasaqs* of date, 3,000 sa's of barley, 1000 *sa's of Nawa* (kernel).

(42) Waqidi says that Ghaziyah al-Ansari got the ruby which he sold for 100 dinars sometime during the caliphate of `Umar I and invested the capital in the purchase of a date-garden situated in the locality of B. Khatamah.

(43) Ibn Khatal is also reported to have thrown away his arms which included his coat of mail, jacket worn under it, helmets of leather and iron, apart from his horse. Cf. Yaqobi, vol.II, p.61, who says that some wealth was found in the Ka'bah which was distributed by the Prophet among Muslims.

(44) Yaqubi and Tabari hold that Khalid got some jewellery from the temple of al-'Uzza at Nakhlah; Tabari, vol.III, p.100. Some jewellery as well as riches in gold and pearls were found in the treasury of the goddess of al-Lat at al-Ta'if. This *mal* was, however, used to pay off the debt of two sons of Mas'od, namely, `Urwah and al-Aswad.

(45) Ibn Ishaq, Eng. tr., p.592; Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, p.134, say that the camels and sheep were innumerable. Cf. Waqidi, p.943, who says that the sheep/goats were too large to be enumerated. He, how ever, gives another tradition according to which they numbered about 40,000. lbn Sa'd, vol.II, p.152, holds that they were more than 40,000 heads; Yaqobi, vol.II, p.63, holds the booty included only 12,000 camels apart from the *aslab*; Tabari, vol.III, p.86, who gives an entirely different version according to which the camels numbered 6,000 while the goats/sheep were innumerable and the captives were in large numbers; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, pp.268-70ff, who does not give any figures relating either to the camels, or cattle or captives; Ibn Khaldon, vol.II, p.817, who does not refer to the number of camels or cattle; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, pp.352-60, who collects all the above traditions in his account.

(46) Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.153, who says that both the camels and sheep were included in the share of a soldier; it would imply that a foot soldier's share was 4 camels and 40 sheeps and that of a mounted soldier's 12 and 120; Tabari, vol.III, pp.95ff; Ibn Kathir, vol.IV, p.355, who follow lbn Sa'd but ascribe, strangely enough, this statement to Waqidi. Obviously, the reckoning of all these later authorities is wrong.

(47) Cf. my book, *Organisation of Government Under the Prophet*, pp.171-72. Also see Waqidi, p.889; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.135.

(48) Cf. Ibn Ishaq, Eng. tr., pp.571-2ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.151-2; Yaqubi, vol.II, p.63; Tabari, vol.III, pp.89-90; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.266ff; lbn Khaldon, vol.II, p.816; lbn Kathir, vol.IV, pp.352, 354ff. All of these, particularly Waqidi (p.924), refer to goods (*al-riththah*) being included in the booty of Hunayn. `Aqil b. Abi Talib, an elder brother of `Ali b. Abi Talib, is reported to have returned a needle (*`ibrah*) he had got in plunder to the sahib al-maghanim. Another Muslim is also reported to have returned a ball of wool. Apart from these, there are references to strings of pearls *(`iqd*), jewellery etc.

(49) Ibn 1shaq, Eng. tr. 667; lbn Hisham, vol.III, p.296f; Waqidi, pp.974-5ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.161; Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.I, p.382; Ya'qubi, vol.II, p.74; Ibn Kathir, vol.V, p.219. There are two versions: one given by Ibn lshaq and his followers and the other by Waqidi and his disciple. According to the former some captives were released without any ransom, while some others were ransomed. According to the latter, all seem to have been set free without ransom. The latter version also gives their number i.e. 11 in all. Baladhuri, however, does not refer to their release at all.

(50) The last authority, however, mentions them on the authority of Ibn Lahiyah from Abi al-Aswad. but in this tradition their number is different: 800 slaves, 1,000 camels, 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. Also see Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p.115, who thinks that there were 800 slaves in stead of 800 sheeplgoats. The editor of al-Waqidi, (p.1027 fn 2), suggests that Zurqani read the word *ra's as faras* i.e. horse. It seems more probable that 800 ra's meant heads of sheep, rather than slaves or horses.

(51) Here a reference to the booty captured by some Muslims of Makkah who had taken shelter at al-Is should be made. According to Waqidi, p.627, the companions of Abo Basir al-Thaqafi, who numbered 70, ambushed the last Makkan caravan and each of them got a booty worth 30 dinars (= 360 dirhams). The entire value of the booty would have been around 2,100 dinars (25, 200 dirhams).

(52) Ibn Sa'd, vol.III, p.185, says that the annual salary of Abu Bakr was fixed by the Muslims at 2, 500 or 3,000 dirhams. Another tradition in Ibn Sa'd, vol.III, p.187, suggests that it was fixed at 6,000 dirhams, but it is obviously the total sum he got as his salary from the public treasury, for another tradition (Ibn Sa'd, vol.III, p.193) shows that the Caliph in his death-bed had asked his sons to pay back this amount to the *Bayt al-Mal*. The fixation of his salary took place after some six months of his rule. Cf. Ya'qu-bi, vol.II, p.136, who says that Abu Bakr used to take three dirhams perday as his salary (*`ujratan*) from the *Bayt al-Mal*, implying an annual pay of 1,080 dirhams only. Also see lbn al Athir, vol.II, pp.423-4.

(53) Wiqidi, p.635, says that the Prophet gave a dress called *Sumbulaniyah* to Abu `Abs b. Jabr just before the battle of Khaybar. The zealous companion sold it for eight dirhams: 2 dirhams he spent on his food; another 2 dirhams for his family members and the rest on the purchase of a camel. This shows that 4 dirhams were considered enough at least for the diet of a small family in the Prophet's time. On this basis 1,440 dirhams were annually required for food expenses alone.

(54) Ibn lshiq says `The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Makkah numbered 10,000: of Banu Sulaym 700 (some say 1,000); and of Banu Ghifar 400; of Aslam 400; of Muzayna 1,003; and the rest of them were from Quraysh and the Ansar and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamim and Qays and Asad." Also see ibid**.,** p.545, where he adds that "The Muhajirs and Helpers went as one man; not one stayed behind." Cf. Waqidi, p.800, who puts the figures of the Muhajirs' and the Ansar's foot soldiers at 700 and 4,000 respectively. Besides, there were 800 horsemen from the two: 300 of Muhajirs and 500 of the Ansar. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.244; lbn Kathir, vol. IV, p.285-6.

(55) The tribal break-up of this expedition is not referred to in our sources. See Ibn Hisham, vol.IV, p.169ff; Waqidi, pp.989-90ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.165ff; *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.I, p.368; Yaqubi, vol.II, pp.67-8; Tabari, vol.III, p.100ff; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.276ff; Ibn Khaldun, vol.II, p.819ff; Ibn Kathir, vol.V, p.2ff.

(56) Ibn Kathir, *al-Fusul fi Sirat al-Rasul*, Maktabah (Dar al-Turath, Medinah, 1402-3 AH/1982-83, p.277), gives two traditions: one Shafi'i's tradition which says that at the time of the Prophet's death Muslims in all numbered 60,000 of whom a half lived at Medina; while Abu Zurah al-Razi's tradition puts the total Muslim population at more than 100,000 souls.

(57) The three Makkans who gave loans were: Safwan b. Umayyah 50,000 dirhams; Abdullah b. Abi Rabi'ah 40,000 dirhams, and Huwaytib b. `Abd al-'Uzza 40,000 dirhams. Cf. Ibo Hisham. IV. 68; Tabari, vol.III, p.73; Ya'qubi, vol.II, p.62; Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.262; lbn Kathir. vol.IV. p.324.

(58) Cf. Ibn Ishaq, Eng. tr. p. 603 (p.783 for Ibn Hisham's opinion): Tabari. vol.III, p. 102: Ibn al-Athir, vol.II, p.277; Ibn Kathir, vol.V, p.4; Ibn Khaldon, vol.II, p.819. The last says that `Uthman was among those who contributed the largest amount. He, however, reports another tradition accordine to which he gave 1,000 dinars in cash and provided Muslim destitutes with 900 camels and 100 horses, in addition to other things required by them.

(59) Cf. the author's *Organisation of Government Under the Prophet*. pp.151-2: Montgomery Watt. *Muhammad at Medina*, pp.339-41.

(60) For instance, a Makkan captive. Abo Aziz Abdari. was provided with bread (food) while his Anssari captors remained contented with dates.

(61) Ibn Ishiq, Eng. tr., pp.676-77, says that Thumamah b. `Utthal. a leader of Banu Hanifah. was captured and treated "honourably in captivity." Cf. Balidhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.1. p. 376. Captives of Banu al-Mustaliq and Hawazin were not only treated and looked after well, but eventuallv released on human grounds. See Ibn Ishaq. Eng., tr., pp.493,592-3f; Waqidi. pp.411-12ff. & 943ff: Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, p.64, pp.153-4ff. Several of the prisoners of Banu Qurayzah also were treated with kindness. See lbn Ishaq, Eng. tr. p.465ff; Waqidi, pp.518-19ff; Ibn Sa'd. vol.II, p.75.

(62) For Muslim losses in the expeditions of Badr, al-Khandaq, al-Muraysi', Khaybar. Makkah. and Hunayn see Ibn Ishaq, Eng. tr., pp.300ff, 454ff, 491f, 511-12, 550f. 569f; Waqidi. pp.69.77-8ff. 408f, 469-70f, 825-6f, 897-99,902-3,908f, 922ff; Ibn Sa'd, vol.II, pp.17-18,64-5ff68f,136, 151ff: Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol.1, pp.290,295ff, 345f, 352f, 355,365f; Tabari, vol.II, pp.455ff. 575ff, 604ff; 111, 9-l0ff, 55-57f, 74ff, Yaqubi, vol.II, pp.45-51ff; Ibn Athir, vol.II, pp.125ff. 182, 192-4, 217ff, 247,263ff; Ibn Kathir, vol.III. pp.274ff; vol.III, pp. 102-3ff, 159f. 188ff. 292.336 & 340f.

(63) Cf. my article "Muslim Economy of Medina during the Time of the Prophet" (in Urdu), *Tahqiqat-i Islami*, `Aligarh 1983, Vol.II, No.4, pp.21-43.

(64) Cf. my article "Did the Makkan immigrants come empty-handed to Medina?" (in Urdu). *Tahqiqat-i Islimi*, `Aligarh 1983, Vol.II, No. 2, pp.11-25.

(65) Cf. my article on the Muslim economy of Medina cited earlier.

(66) A few examples will suffice. Both Thabit b. Qays Khazraji and his cousin had invested their capitil gained as their shares of the booty in the landed estates particularly palm-date gardens in Medini. Similarly, Aba Qatadah Ansari also had purchased a garden known as al-Rudayni in the locality of Banu Salamah. Ghaziyah Ansari had invested his share of booty in the same fashion. Several companions of the Prophet like `Umar b. al-Khattab, `Uthman b. `Affan, Buraydah b. al-Husayb al-Aslami etc. are reported to have bought perpetual proprietary rights in various lands of Khaybar. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas Zuhri owned a landed property in Medina known as Husaykah al-Dhubab in the very beginning of the Medinese period. To top it all, the Prophet had purchased for the minor son of `Abdullah b. Jahsh a landed property in Khaybar. For references and further illucidation see my article on the Muslim economy of Medina cited earlier. Cf. Waqidi, pp.23, 410-11,779, 908-9.

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دور غنائم الحرب في الاقتصاد في عهد الرسول ﷺ

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المستخلص : يقدر الباحث مجموع قيمة غنائم الحرب التي حصل عليها المسلمون خلال العقد الأول من الهجرة (٦٢٢–٦٣٢م) بما لا يتجاوز ستة ملايين درهم. كما يقدر كلفة المعيشة في المدينة المنورة حينذاك بثلاثة آلاف درهم سنويًا لأسرة متوسطة قوامها ستة أشخاص. ويستنتج بأن الغنائم ما كان بوسعها أن توفر عيشًا إلا لأقلية ضئيلة جدًا من السكان المسلمين بأعدادهم المتزايدة آنذاك. وكذلك لا بد أن تؤخذ في الحسبان التكاليف التي تكبدها المسلمون في جهادهم، والخسائر التي لحقت بهم. ويقدر الباحث التكاليف وحدها بما يزيد عن ستين مليون درهم، أي عشرة أضعاف الغنائم. ويستنتج بأن نسبة قيمة غنائم المسلمين إلى مجموع دخولهم خلال السنوات العشر الأولى من العهد النبوي في المدينة المنورة لم تكن لتتجاوز ٢٪. ودون أن ننكر بعض الأهمية الاقتصادية لهذه الغنائم، فلا مفر من الاستنتاج بأن الركيزة الأساسية لاقتصاد المسلمين في ذلك العهد كانت جهودهم الذاتية في مجالات الزراعة والصناعة والتجارة.